ENTANGLING ALLIANCES—CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE Nation

September 5, 1953

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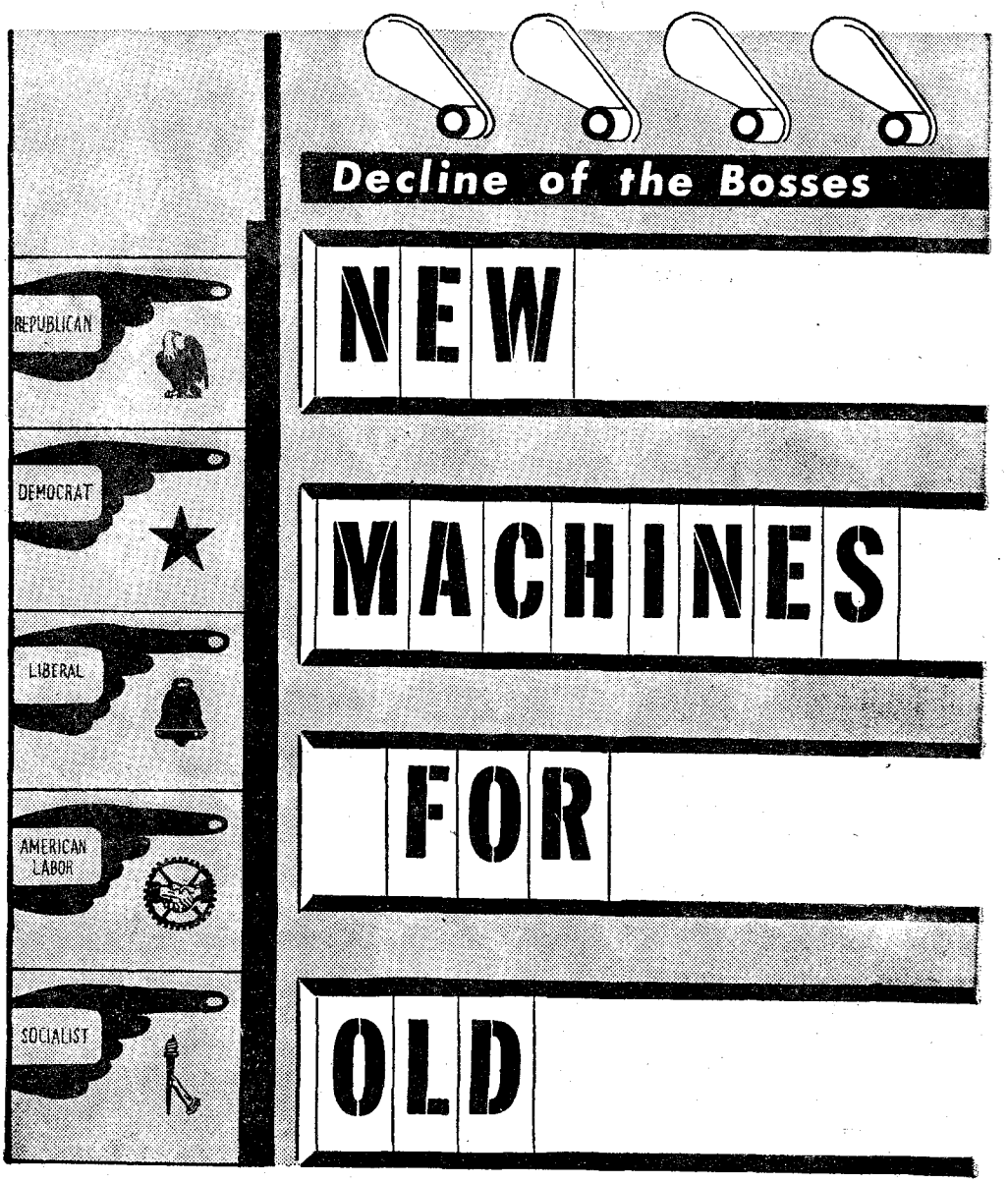

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

by Roy V. Peel

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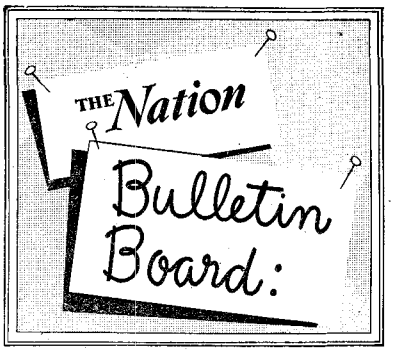

MET A MAN the other day who was astonished to hear *The Nation* was eighty-eight years old. "Liberal publications don't live long," he mused—we knocked wood, then brightened as he added—"but then you've really got something to offer."

Reason we started talking about the age of *The Nation* was the recent publication by the New York Public Library of a two-volume index of *Nation* contributors and articles from 1865 to 1917. "An era of brilliance in our history," says the Library about *The Nation* and adds: "The greatness of any magazine is of course in direct proportion to the eminence of its contributors. It is only when this Volume 2 (contributors) is examined that one realizes the collective brilliance in all aspects of American life . . . of those who chose to write for [*The Nation*]." The two volumes, compiled by Daniel C. Haskill, are sold for $25 by the New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street.

. . . Among the lesser effects of the recent strikes in France were the problems created for our correspondents. Del Vayo managed to get his dispatch on the strikes out via cable, which was not affected; but Alexander Werth, normally stationed in Paris, was marooned while vacationing in Provence. Stuart R. Schram was fortuitously marooned in St. Etienne, an important mining community, and even more fortuitously, was able to pass his dispatch on to a friend bound for Belgium, whence the story was forwarded to us.

. . . Does Silence Mean Guilt? the fine *Nation* article on the Fifth Amendment controversy, continues to be a best-seller in its reprint form. We're now over the 30,000 mark, and the demand is still steady. Another *Nation* pamphlet headed for best-sellerdom is "The Save-Our-Schools Business: The Strange Case of John T. Flynn." Over half our initial order of 20,000 is already gone, and we're certain the demand will continue. Prices are 10 cents a copy, $7.50 a hundred, $25 for 500, and $45 for 1,000. These rates apply to both pamphlets.

. . . A *Nation* reader passes the following along to us from Dick Friendlich's column in the San Francisco *Chronicle*: "A good-looking girl came into Robbie's on Telegraph Avenue last week laughing in a somewhat bewildered fashion. Said she'd just finished a two-hour modeling job on the U. C. campus and couldn't get paid until she signed the loyalty oath!"

. . . The recent issue of a scholarly philosophical quarterly published at the University of Buffalo contained an article by John W. Yolton of John Hopkins dealing with The Dialectic of Loyalty Tests. Yolton based his approach on Carey McWilliams's book "Witch Hunt," which, he said, "offers a sound and persuasive analysis of the forces at work which have brought about this radical change of the national character."

. . . Leland Olds made front-page headlines recently for his testimony before the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee. Olds testified at the invitation of Congressman W. Sterling Cole —who had received copies of the series which Olds did recently for *The Nation*, along with a reminder that Olds certainly should be heard on such a vital question. M. S.

Letters

McCarthy in Texas

Dear Sirs: Your article on McCarthy's fishing activities in Texas, in *The Nation* of August 22, should have been headed McCarthy Lands Suckers. If the American public follows the Texas trend of swallowing the McCarthy bait—hook, line, and sinker—it may well be that in 1956 McCarthy will be America's first dictator. Already the Minute Women, the Bundists, the America Firsters, the American Legion commissars of loyalty and morals, and a million bigoted, uninformed minds are peddling McCarthyism with a fervor that outstrips the Spanish Inquisition.

Houstonians will be surprised that H. R. Cullen ("friends call me Roy") actually gave any money away. Thus far his name is engraved on the recipient. For example, the University of Houston has the Roy Cullen Building and the new five-million-dollar Ezekiel W. Cullen Building. The street running in front of the university has been changed from St. Bernard to Cullen Boulevard. There is also, in the downtown area, a Cullen Nurses' Home and a Cullen Children's Hospital.

Mr. Cullen's third-grade education qualifies him to say what shall be taught in the university and who shall teach it. He is a great authority on all phases of government. At the dedication of the new Ezekiel W. Cullen Building he nauseated even the conservatives by calling Dean Acheson and Harry Truman homosexuals.

The great philanthropist withdrew his money from the proposed city-county hospital because it contained plans for a diagnostic clinic that would be open to people of all income brackets. Actually the clinic would be on a basis of "pay what you can." It would have been a godsend to Houstonians, who are ridden with high-priced doctors.

Houston, Tex. BILL STALNAKER

Taft's Death

Dear Sirs: The tragedy of death is even greater when it is untimely, and that of Senator Taft makes me grieve not half so much for him as for the philosophy that contributed to his premature death. That "free enterprise" must be held inviolate even if it means consigning thousands of our citizens to an early death, I cannot subscribe to. While billions were being appropriated for death and destruction, Congress in 1948 voted down a bill to allot one hundred million dollars for cancer research. It may well be that by voting for a committee amendment which reduced Congressional appropriations for the National Cancer Institute in 1947, Senator Taft signed his own death warrant.

New York E. CAMP

The Hiss Puzzle

Dear Sirs: After reading Charles Alan Wright's review of The Strange Case of Alger Hiss in *The Nation* of July 18, I found myself thinking of the three blind men who investigated various portions of the elephant and came up with contradictory impressions. The Earl Jowitt seems as well qualified to write the last word on the relative credibility

(Continued on inside back cover)

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Volume 177, Number 10
New York, Saturday, September 5, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

"Hour of Accounting"

The American Bar Association has demeaned the legal profession by the adoption, unanimously and without debate, of a resolution calling on the profession to purge its ranks of Communists. A report on which the resolution was based states that "the hour of accounting" for Communist lawyers has been too long delayed. At the same time, the A. B. A. gave expression to the gallant sentiment that special panels should be established to ensure the right of counsel to citizens holding unpopular beliefs. But only delegates to an A. B. A. convention could fail to recognize that the one action undercuts the other. For the word "Communist" has no specific connotation these days. What the A. B. A. has done is to place lawyers who will defend clients holding unpopular views at the mercy of super-patriots, crackpot "anti-subversive" organizations, and the neurotics who write poison-pen letters. Universal implementation of the resolution, moreover, would constitute a serious and dangerous limitation on the right of properly accredited lawyers to determine the character of their clientele free of outside pressure or dictation. That so many newspapers should have buried the news of this resolution and featured the condemnation of book-burning is a measure of our current capacity for self-deception.

The report on which the delegates based their action was prepared by former Senator Herbert R. O'Conor, a prominent Roman Catholic layman who served on the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. The semi-official character of the presentation was no doubt noticed by the delegates and may account for the absence of debate. One can only hope that local bar associations will refuse to be stampeded into bringing ill-considered disciplinary proceedings by this capitulatory resolution.

Mr. Brownell and His List

The A. B. A.'s action was neatly supplemented, no doubt by prearrangement, by Attorney General Brownell who announced to the delegates that he had increasingly become convinced that the National Lawyers Guild had become the "legal mouthpiece" of the Communist Party and that he had served notice on the organization to show cause why it should not be included on the list of subversive organizations. It seems hardly necessary to call attention to the impropriety of Brownell's prejudgment of the issue. Since he is already convinced that the National Lawyers Guild belongs on the "list," it seems strange that he should even bother to schedule a hearing. But one thing is clear: the constitutionality of this extraordinary listing procedure will now be given a thorough test. The guild, whose membership includes some extremely able civil-liberties experts, will undoubtedly seek in the courts the fair hearing it will not receive before the Attorney General.

Victory for the Workers?

As a few strikes continue to weigh heavily on the French economy, it seems likely that the test of strength between the unions and the government will ultimately be resolved in favor of the unions. Laniel achieved a transitory success by the decision of the steering committee of the National Assembly against labor's demand for an immediate session of parliament. But his victory was meager: the deputies' petition asking for a meeting fell only two signatures short of the 209 required by law. Within a half-hour of the announcement of the result, the Socialists and Communists began collecting signatures for a new petition, this time confident that they would win.

In the meantime the financial losses inflicted upon the already over-burdened national treasury by the strikes are becoming apparent. The railroad stoppage alone cost the government a billion francs a day. Events are pushing France rapidly towards a turning in the road.

Crux of Iran's Problem

The dramatic toppling of Premier Mossadegh gives Iran a new look but leaves that distressed and strategic land still subject to violent political and economic strains. Mossadegh fed nationalist sentiment by defying British imperialism. He could not, however, break the grip of the Anglo-American-Dutch cartel on the world market and so nationalized oil proved a non-productive asset.

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 181
Entangling Alliances 183

ARTICLES

Splendid Isolation:
First Avenue Phenomenon
by Mark Gayn 185

What They Want Is Unity
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 187

New Machines for Old:
Decline of the Bosses
by Roy V. Peel 188

Moroccan Puppet Show:
Strings Lead to Paris
by Claude Bourdet 191

Iran's New Strong Man:
Aura of Nazism *by Andrew Roth* 192

Dent in the Crown:
Leftists Win in Guiana
by Samuel Boyea 193

BOOKS

Economics Without Yawns
by Keith Hutchison 195

New Books in Brief 196

The Snail *A Poem by Samuel Yellen* 196

RECORD NOTES *by Robert E. Garis* 199

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 531
by Frank W. Lewis 200

LETTERS opposite 181

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Deprived of all oil revenue while forced to make provision for the idle oil workers, Mossadegh overreached himself when he sought to surmount the resultant financial crisis by assuming dictatorial powers.

How strong the new regime, dominated by the army, will prove to be is, as yet, impossible to tell. The young Shah is well-meaning and progressive but does not appear to be a forceful personality. And while General Zahedi, the new Premier, has some reputation as a strong man, he has filled his cabinet with elderly nonentities who are likely to unite only in resisting change [see Andrew Roth's article on page 192].

The new government must speedily secure financial assistance from abroad or find its popular support melting away. No doubt Washington will be more willing to help Zahedi, who is stamping down hard on the Communists, than it was Mossadegh who flirted with them, but oil remains a stumbling block. Obviously there can be no going back on nationalization. The British admit that and might even leave the question of compensation in suspense. But they are likely to remain insistent on an agreed plan for distributing Iranian oil so that it will not be dumped on the world market.

Let's Try Cutting Prices

This is a matter of vital concern to the international oil companies since a return of the Iranian fields to production will add to the surplus of oil that is already causing them severe headaches. In 1950, the last full year of Iranian operation, world output was 10.9 million barrels: this year, with the Iranian industry at a standstill, it has attained the rate of 13.5 million. Moreover, there has been a large increase in refinery capacity in the past three years so that, except for the production of aviation gas, the huge Abadan plant is, in a sense redundant.

Of course, this surplus is relative. The petroleum industry of the world is producing more than can be sold *at current prices*: it has yet to test the possibilities of stimulating demand by cheapening the product. Indeed, in Britain and Western Europe, prices of gasoline and some grades of fuel oil were recently advanced, not in response to local conditions since these products were in ample supply, but in order to maintain a marketing structure based on United States prices.

The great international oil concerns are reluctant to change their price pattern for a number of reasons. It would mean lower profits and would put pressure on the United States internal market of a kind that would intensify the agitation of the American independents for import quotas: It would probably mean also reduced royalty receipts for Middle Eastern governments which might, in turn, lead to new threats of nationalization. But on that score cutbacks in production in an effort to

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hold prices are equally dangerous. Under the circumstances, it would seem that the only rational solution to the problem is to persuade Iran to join the cartel as a full partner and then attempt to broaden the market by lowering prices.

The Goose Step: 1953 Version

Fourteen American universities have refused to accept contracts tendered by the Armed Forces Institute, which offers free correspondence courses to servicemen and women, because of the inclusion in this year's contract of a clause reading: "The contractor (university) will not employ or retain for the performance of services under this contract such persons as are disapproved by the Government." Still another clause would require the universities to provide professional and personal information on all employees handling correspondence work with servicemen. Even John Francis Neylan, who led the fight to impose a loyalty oath on the faculty at the University of California, found the restriction offensive. Said Regent Neylan: "We're not surrendering to anybody the independence of the university. We will not permit anybody to dictate to us." In addition to California, the following universities rejected the contracts: Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana State, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Western Kentucky State College, and the Oregon State System of Education. Twenty-eight universities, however, did accept the contracts.

Entangling Alliances

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

POINTING up the lessons of the Korean war as a guide to American policy in the *Wall Street Journal* of June 11, Joseph E. Evans suggested that we should be "less precipitate" in reaching major policy decisions in the future, adding as a footnote: "The decision of three years ago, while taken with great seriousness, was not one the implications of which were very carefully thought out."

Far from heeding this thoughtful advice, we have promptly jumped from the frying pan into the fire. There was certainly more justification for President Truman's precipitate decision to intervene in Korea than for Mr. Dulles's decision to conclude a mutual-defense treaty with the Republic of Rhee. While the crisis which Rhee had caused may have justified the Secretary's hasty trip to Seoul, it neither justifies the terms nor warrants ratification of the agreement he brought back. For by the time Mr. Dulles and his party had arrived, the United Nations command, according to Hanson W. Baldwin, had considerably more control over the R. O. K. forces both along the truce line and behind it than it did when our loving ally Dr. Rhee released the 27,000 prisoners of war. Rhee's treachery should have warned us against further entanglement with him, but it had exactly the opposite effect. "Trying to find a peaceful way out of the Korean tangle," writes Marquis Childs, "Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is like a man walking on flypaper. He gets one foot disentangled only to find that the other is stuck fast." Currently both of his big feet are stuck hard and fast—thanks to Dr. Rhee's skilful blackmail.

The basic objection to the mutual-defense treaty is simply that there is nothing mutual about it. To Rhee it spells security; to us it spells trouble. For what he got —and the price included the promise of a billion dollars in aid—Rhee gave only a promise; and of what worth are his promises? Militarily, Rhee is a liability, not an asset. If all foreign troops were to be withdrawn, and the great powers were to remain neutral, it is unlikely that he could unite Korea by force. He probably could not even maintain internal order in his own area without American support. Nor is he the only alternative in Korea. Dr. Channing Liem of Lehigh University is not alone in suggesting that Rhee will continue to undermine the United States as long as we whisper our policy into the ears of the R. O. K. leaders instead of talking loudly to the Korean people. To date the South Koreans have heard only one version of the way of Korean salvation, and that is Dr. Rhee's.

Politically Rhee, like Chiang Kai-shek, is a has-been, a sure-loser; both are gargoyles of reaction that belong to a past modern Asians are determined to forget. To embrace them is to invite defeat. Rhee cannot unify Korea; he stands in the way of Korean unity. It is inconceivable that the Chinese, having achieved a stalemate in the war, would ever consent to a unification of Korea under Rhee. To indulge his dynastic ambitions, we would have to achieve total military victory over China and possibly over the Soviet Union as well. In the political conference Rhee will be a millstone round the necks of the American representatives. He will never consent to a free election because he knows he could never win it. Besides, the signing of the defense pact before the conference will limit our initiative there.

BUT the pact is objectionable on other grounds as well. For the first time in our history, as the New York *Times* observed in an editorial of August 10, "we have made a specific commitment to an area on the Asian mainland. The chain-of-islands thinking has been enlarged to take in a region." This commitment was made before the ink was dry on numerous military appraisals of the Korean war which echoed a common warning against any further military commitments in precisely that area. Paradoxically the Dulles policy of "disengagement" and

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withdrawal has actually meant further commitments.

Moreover, the decision which would force us to honor the new commitment rests rather more with Rhee than with us. For if after the political conference has been in session for ninety days, "it becomes clear to each of our governments that all attempts to achieve these objectives [the unification of Korea] have been fruitless and that the conference is being exploited by the Communist delegates mainly to infiltrate, propagandize, and otherwise embarrass the Republic of Korea," we then stand committed "to make a concurrent withdrawal from the conference," with all the consequences this may entail. The potential significance of the final clause is indicated in a New York *Times* dispatch from Seoul of August 24: "It is believed quite possible there will be shake-ups within the Korean government later on simply to justify the charge that there has been such infiltration." Already there are rumors of a pending purge in Rhee's government. Use of the trick word "each" does not minimize the danger that Rhee's interpretation of the extent to which the Republic of Korea has been infiltrated, propagandized, or otherwise embarrassed will be conclusive. Dictators like Rhee embarrass easily.

But this is only part of the price we have paid for Rhee's promise of ninety days' good behavior. Our commitment to him was doubtless one of the factors which prompted President Eisenhower to make an informal commitment to Indo-China in his Seattle speech. And Chiang Kai-shek, who for months has been angling for a Pacific "anti-Communist" pact, now wants the United States–South Korean mutual-defense pact extended to include Formosa.

Here too "disengagement" has actually meant further involvement. For it now appears that we have an agreement with Chiang under which he has promised not to unleash his toothless mercenaries against the Chinese mainland without our approval. But to acknowledge that we have him on leash is to accept responsibility for what he may do without our approval. Just as Rhee released the prisoners behind our back, so Chiang may decide to initiate some action against the mainland for the purpose of forcing our hand. Time is running out on Chiang, and a dangerous now-or-never atmosphere is building up in Tapei. "The moment of our counter-attack," he said recently, "is drawing nearer and nearer."

IN APPRAISING risks that we have incurred in thus making Chiang our agent, it should not be forgotten that he is fully conscious of the fact that his friends have come to power in Washington: Joseph W. Martin, Jr., as Speaker of the House, Senator William F. Knowland as Senate majority leader, and Admiral Arthur W. Radford as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under a reorganized set-up which gives him the power to select personnel. Nor are these the only friends that might be inclined to "overlook" some indiscretion on Chiang's part just as they overlooked Rhee's indiscretion in releasing the prisoners. "Among the United States diplomats in East Asia," writes James Reston (from Tokyo), in the New York *Times* of August 11, "there seems to be increasing support for adding Formosa to the catalogue of formal United States security pacts for the Pacific, and some of them would like to see the United States give Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek not only more weapons but more offensive weapons designed to prepare him for an invasion of the Chinese mainland." Admiral Radford not only believes that the United States can never be secure so long as the Communists retain power in China, but he has talked privately, according to Mr. Reston, "with eloquence and conviction not only about 'defending' South Korea, Formosa, Hongkong, and Indo-China but of regarding them as 'bridgeheads' against the Communists." Nor should Arthur Krock's meaningful comment in his column of July 28 be forgotten: "It is reliably reported that in an official top-level discussion of the post-armistice courses of the United States in Korea, agreement was general that the Eisenhower Administration will not allow this nation to be bound by the policies of our allies in the United Nations to anything like the degree the Truman Administration was bound . . . this reported change . . . foreshadows events of the highest potential and most grave in their implications."

THE RHEE technique is now being copied by the envious Chinese Nationalists. Just as Colonel Ben C. Limb, South Korean observer at the United Nations, speaks of the United Nations jurisdiction in Korea as "a tragic circumstance," so Mr. K. C. Wu, former governor of Formosa, speaking recently in New York, announces that a United Nations trusteeship for Formosa would be rejected "by force if necessary." And from Formosa comes word, in the dispatches of Marguerite Higgins, that Chiang will never abandon his "mission to return to the mainland" and might even "go it alone" if Red China were to be admitted to the United Nations. In their attitude toward the United Nations both Rhee and Chiang merely echo of course the attitude of such Republican leaders as Senator Knowland, who has said that "the day Communist China goes into the United Nations, the United States goes out."

What is truly disturbing about all this is the mounting evidence that American power, in the absence of a real domestic political opposition, is being irresponsibly committed and applied. Grounds of opposition are not lacking; what is needed is the courage to resist. Writing from Washington on July 31, William S. White reported in the New York *Times* that the Senate was "aghast at President Syngman Rhee's argument that the United States must reopen the war if Korean unification

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failed." Nevertheless, the Senate dutifully approved a $200,000,000 down payment on a billion-dollar aid program which Dr. Rhee announces will be spent, not in Japan, but in South Korea and, if his will prevails, under his supervision. "The Senate of the United States," one of its most influential members bravely assured Mr. White, "will never agree to put the foreign policy of the United States into the hands of Dr. Rhee." But the Senator, it should be noted, spoke "in private"—for fear no doubt that Big Brother Joe might be listening. Or perhaps he had read Dr. Rhee's cablegram to the Ashland (Ohio) *Times Gazette* that the Americans, as a nation, are the dupes of intriguing European governments far gone on the road to communism.

Ironically, the traditional admonition against "entangling alliances" is being recklessly disregarded today not by Democrats but by the party of tradition and conservatism. Perhaps by January the dangers of the entangling Korean alliance may become sufficiently apparent to force at least a frank debate on its merits. Is it too much to hope that Mr. Stevenson, home from his around-the-world junket, will revive the two-party system by offering an alternative to the current Dulles-Rhee-Chiang foreign policy?

SPLENDID ISOLATION

First Avenue Phenomenon . . *by Mark Gayn*

United Nations

THE seventh session of the Assembly is bound to be remembered long—if less for its petty political deals in the lobbies and its undistinguished oratory than for having brought into sharp focus the processes of history.

It was, for instance, at this session that the United States moved yet another step away from its old policies, its old friends, and the United Nations. This isolation has had nothing to do with isolationism, for the Republicans have now become involved in fabulous "foreign entanglements" which no Democrat would have ever dared to champion. But isolation or isolationism, it has tended to rob the United States of its allies. Perhaps nothing has been as indicative of this as the vote on India, which was generally regarded as a test of American popularity and influence. It took the most intensive lobbying by the U. S. delegation to thwart India's bid for a seat at the Korea conference; even so, India received more votes on the key resolution than the U. S., though not the required two-thirds.

It was also at this session, at which Andrei Vishinsky appeared with a brand-new smile and the tones of a reproachful uncle, that the Soviet Union made its most significant gains in U. N. history. It did so partly by astute politicking; partly through the confusion caused by Moscow's pacific gestures—of which, incidentally, few were observable at the session; and above all else, by allying itself with popular causes. Who can measure, for instance, the good-will earned by Vishinsky's stand beside India? It was easy to say, as the American delegates did, that such Soviet maneuvers were both insincere and sinister. The fact was that, whatever the motive, Russia at this session commanded more than its customary support.

The session saw the strengthening of a "third force." Neutral blocs, of course, have been seen here before. One, for instance, appeared late in 1950, when the Arab-Asian bloc was formed, and some of the Western nations were frightened into the neutral corner by the antics of the American "Bomb China Now" boys. On such issues as the Italian colonies, the "third force" had, in fact, been able to impose a compromise on the Big Three. At this session the neutral bloc, reinforced by recruits from the colder areas of Europe, may have lost its battle over India. But it learned to use its muscles, and one can now expect of it a show of still greater independence at the forthcoming eighth session, when bigger issues are at stake. The emergence of the "third force" means the failure of political polarization. Instead of siding with Moscow or Washington, an increasing number of countries insisted they wanted no more of the "cold war" and its dangerous stresses.

The seventh session may, finally, be remembered for having provided a storm warning. The identity of interests that bound the United States, the British Commonwealth, and France remained substantially unchanged. But there were many signs that what was true at the seventh session might not, or would not, be true at the eighth. The issue in the past fortnight was relatively minor—simply who was to represent the United Nations at the Korean Political Conference, and in what spirit. Other questions hammered on the U. N. gates, but they were firmly barred.

THE CONSENSUS here is that they cannot be kept away much longer, for they are too big and too pressing to be ignored. Of all these issues Red China's position is the most important. But it is not the only one. The political map of the world is likely to be redrawn in the next six months or a year, and whatever happens will have an impact on the United Nations. Will Western Europe, for instance, go left or right this fall, and how will this affect NATO, the "cold war," and the American policy for Europe? What will be the effect of the new policies now being shaped in Moscow and Washington? Will Germany

MARK GAYN, author and foreign correspondent, covered the seventh session of the U. N. for The Nation.

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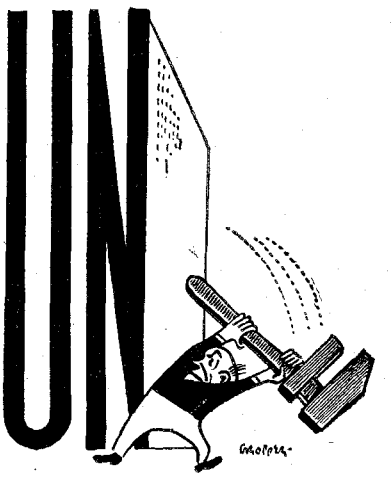
be reunited and rearmed, and what policy will it follow? Sooner or later, all these issues will come before the United Nations, as the question of Red China will. If this happens, will the United States walk out, as Senator Knowland has been urging so firmly?

Not surprisingly, nothing has impressed the reporters covering this session so strongly as the growing sense of American isolation. The process, of course, began long ago, and the United States was not solely to blame for it. For just as the Korean war first tended to unite the non-Communist world, so it served later to split it. Unhappily, the United Nations found itself enmeshed in American domestic wrangles, and the Truman-MacArthur debate, for instance, became an integral part of U. N. history. The foreign countries resented this involvement in American politics but could not possibly escape it.

But out of this involvement has come a great uneasiness. For a couple of days last week I tried to keep a list of the questions asked by members of the various delegations. As I look through them now I find reflected in them the feeling that the American course is both puzzling and unwise and that it is alienating America's best friends. With both President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles away on a vacation for a part of the session, it seemed here as if Mr. Lodge was molding the American foreign policy. Was it he, then, who was to blame for its blunders, its tactlessness, its lack of elasticity? The rift among the Western Big Three seemed even worse than it really was because of the failure to advise France and Britain in advance of the course Mr. Lodge proposed to follow at the Assembly. Who was responsible for the decision to back France against Arab nationalism? And why did Robert Murphy go on a television program to expound and defend the French position at the precise moment when the Moroccan issue was being debated by the Security Council?

The remark of the London *Times* correspondent that the United States had become "a South Korean satellite" turned out to be the favorite *bon mot* on the committee floor. It is not that anyone took it seriously, but that no one could quite understand how the greatest power on earth could have allowed itself to be alienated from its friends by an aged Korean politician. Somehow, last week, Syngman Rhee had become a symbol not only of old-fashioned Oriental villainy but also of the new political orientation in the United States. And word has been circulating that, apart from India and Japan, Rhee had barred even Chiang Kai-shek from the political conference.

Out of these rumors and uncertainty sprang many troubled questions. If the United States felt bound by Rhee's wishes now, would it be bound by his actions ninety days hence? How long could America's allies tolerate such de-



pendence on Rhee's integrity and peaceful intent? How would the United States and its allies react to Rhee's breach of the truce if—as is pretty certain—Korea is not unified under him? Does Washington feel with Rhee that armed force should be used to place all of Korea under his rule, and does it expect, for instance, Canada and Britain to send their men back into battle? And if the Political Conference fails, or if it lasts beyond Rhee's deadline of ninety days, would the American command tolerate that armed action which Rhee has been advertising before mass-meetings in Seoul?

It is no secret here that, up to this point, the Allied nations have not been advised of the American course in any of these eventualities. Is this because there is as yet no policy, or is it because Dulles and Lodge won't tell? Whatever the answer, it serves to underline the rift between the United States and its many friends.

THIS SENSE of drifting apart casts a black shadow over the magnificent skyscraper on First Avenue. For America's isolation is an ailment that can be fatal to the United Nations. There was a time, I am told, when the United Nations, if it needed a ton of steel, simply telephoned Washington. Today, under Lodge, there is an insistence on "going through channels," which means Lodge, and many suspect that his affection for the United Nations is tempered by the political climate.

With crucial sessions ahead at the United Nations, the Congress has chosen this moment to slash the appropriations for Lodge's mission. Thus, I am told, something like one employee in five on the mission has been dismissed, at a time when it needs all the help it can get. Watching the Congressional ax, U. N. officials get a feeling of chill. There are other signs of a growing American disinterest. The American contribution to the United Nations' Korean Reconstruction Agency has been cut by Congress from seventy million to fifty. At the same time, an independent American agency has been set up to spend something like a billion dollars in five years. Why was relief from war, fought in a U. N. cause, not put under U. N. administration?

In fact, the entire American position on the political conference worries many officials here. Resistance to Communist aggression was organized here in 1950 under the U. N. banner. Yet if the war was fought in the name of the U. N., peace is not being waged by the U. N. but by the combatants alone. To many here this is not an academic question; they feel it represents the crux of the new American attitude toward the United Nations.

And no recital of U. N. worries is complete without a word about the virulent campaign now being waged against it in this country. The slogan of the new, well-financed drive is "Get the U. S. A. out of the U. N., and the U. N. out of the U. S. A." Some of the U. N. officials I have talked to make no secret of their concern over this campaign, which seems to dovetail so neatly into the broader structure of American isolation. And more than one official, surveying this fabulously expensive piece of international real estate on First Avenue, is beginning to wonder whether the United Nations did not make a terrible blunder in picking this site for its permanent home. From First Avenue, Geneva looks so wonderful!

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

What They Want Is Unity

Zurich

RARELY are elections awaited with so much impatience as those to be held in West Germany on September 6. The widespread anxiety about the result amply confirms the view of many commentators that Germany is the world's biggest problem. The suspense has become sharper since the Italian elections. If the invincible De Gasperi could be defeated, the adversaries of Adenauer believe they have a fighting chance.

The outcome in Italy was pondered deeply by Dr. Adenauer, and he profited from its lessons. Intensified East German propaganda for a united Germany threatened to put him in a bad spot, but he met the test brilliantly. He has apparently been able to convince people that he too wants unity above all else—though his whole political future depends on West Germany's integration into the Atlantic military system and such integration would in itself rule out reunification.

His most difficult task was to defend his foreign policy. Social Democratic attacks upon his domestic policies did not cause him much concern. Charges that the cost of living had risen 50 per cent, that the average German ate only two-thirds as much meat and fat as before the war, that ten million Germans had incomes below the subsistence level could be answered by other figures. Dr. Adenauer could show that while the cost of living had increased markedly in the rest of Europe since the start of the Korean war, in Germany it had increased only 2 per cent, and that his government had built not the million dwellings which the Socialists in 1949 had said were needed in the next four years but 1,800,000.

Of course when the voters strike a balance between accomplishments and failures, the result depends largely on their credulity and prejudices. The issue of reunification, however, cannot be juggled by the most skilful operator. The hope of seeing Germany united again is so strong in the heart of every German that the candidate who seems most likely to make this hope a reality has the best prospect of success.

Dr. Adenauer had feared that some new move on Russia's part might ruin his chances on the eve of the election. He must have been relieved, therefore, to read the Soviet note of August 16 addressed to the Western Allies. It was generally assumed in Western capitals that the note was intended to place the Chancellor in an impossible position, but its contents do not bear this out. Some parts of it, in fact, provided him with new arguments in the last phases of the campaign. He seized at once upon its dismissal of the West's demand for guaranteed free elections throughout Germany—which was a return to the position taken by Moscow in its note of March 10, 1952—as proof that the Kremlin had in no way changed its attitude toward Germany. Of course he ignored any indication that Russia was beginning to accept Molotov's wise definition of the prerequisite to an accord on Germany—that each party be willing to meet the other halfway.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS were not intimidated by Dr. Adenauer's exploitation of Soviet recalcitrance and insisted that the "war of notes" be ended and negotiations begun. They denounced the Chancellor for the contradictions of his position—for trying to assure the external security of the West German republic by attaching it to the Atlantic community and at the same time talking of reaching an agreement with Russia.

And then came Malenkov's speech at the reception in honor of the East German delegation, which put him in an even worse position. Now he had more than words to combat. The East Germans were to pay no more reparations after this year; enterprises seized by the Russians since 1945 were to be given back; occupation costs were to be reduced; all remaining prisoners of war were to be liberated; commercial agreements about deliveries of food and coal were to be signed. These were more than minor concessions; as one radio commentator put it, they were a "royal wedding present." Now the West Germans might say, "We could have all this if it were not for Adenauer. What can the West offer to Adenauer to equal Moscow's generosity to East Germany? The territories beyond the Oder-Neisse? Perhaps, but you can hardly offer something you haven't got."

Although a man with a long political past—from 1920 to 1933 he presided over the Prussian senate, where he became known as a leftist; I remember hearing his name when I was a student in Germany—Adenauer was almost totally unacquainted with the leaders, methods, and mentality of Western governments before 1949. But he quickly learned how to win the esteem of Western statesmen, especially of the Americans. He now aspires to be known as the man "who brought about a Franco-German entente," and thus to improve his standing in both Paris and Washington. But of course he must win the election first.

Not much excitement has been generated by the campaign. There has been nothing like the "poster war" in Italy, to which the best Italian artists contributed their temperament and skill.

A kind of Gallup poll taken recently indicated that the Chancellor's party would get 38 per cent of the votes and the Social Democrats 35 per cent. Polls taken in Italy, however, up to the very last moment made De Gasperi the winner, and most foreign observers concurred. Expectations that the Christian Democrats will emerge from the elections as the strongest party may well be disappointed; it is quite possible that the Social Democrats will obtain more seats in the new Parliament. But though Adenauer may find he has lost strength, he hopes to remain in power through an alliance with other rightist parties.

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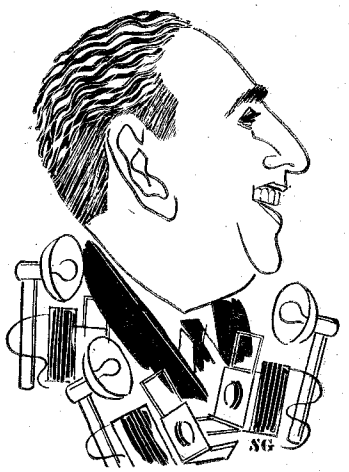
NEW MACHINES FOR OLD

Decline of the Bosses . . . *by Roy V. Peel*

CERTAIN developments in the New York mayoralty campaign indicate that the electoral process in great cities is no longer controlled by the forces which prevailed a half-century ago. The political machine has disintegrated, and the anti-machines, or citizens' reform parties, have practically vanished. The patterns of habit and attraction which govern the emergence of leaders, the nomination and election of candidates, and the discussion of issues are undergoing fundamental change.

Political machines and bosses of the standard type, as defined by Bryce, Steffens, and Merriam, are now found in the United States only in Memphis, which is under the heel of the malodorous Crump, several New Jersey counties, and a few small cities in the South. In Wisconsin, Indiana, and Ohio a number of towns are controlled by socio-political élite groups, but the limitations on the power of these corrupt oligarchies are of a kind the old bosses would never have tolerated. Even Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Los Angeles, which after longer or shorter periods of reform administration have reverted to governments of lower moral standards, are not really ruled by political machines. And in Boston, Cleveland, Denver, Kansas City, Minneapolis, New Orleans, and Philadelphia, where machine politics once held sway, good governments are now in power—stable reform administrations which appear to have great vitality.

The classic "machine" is urban. Students of politics seldom refer to corrupt and impregnable state organizations as machines. The traditional municipal machine was a party organization, dominated by one or more bosses, which controlled the entire political process by



Mayor Impellitteri

means of physical force, economic sanctions, social pressures, and political favoritism. In Northern cities the machine customarily encouraged the formal but impotent opposition of the secondary party. Frequently, when a reform wave threatened the power of the machine, the secondary machine rose to its defense. In most American cities the machine was destroyed by inhospitable economic and social conditions of which reformers could take advantage.

THE FIRST THING the New York City reformers did to curtail the power of the machine was to raise the standard of public morality. Many clergymen and civic leaders of a type that seems to flourish in New York fought in the early years of this century to make men free, civic-minded, fair, honest, and diligent. Then about 1912 the reformers managed to effect structural and legal changes in the conduct of elections, the management of city affairs, and the entire judicial system which made it difficult for machines to survive. Finally, in the 1930's the depression placed on the machines burdens greater than they could bear, and under the New Deal the relief of economic distress became national and impersonal. City machines no longer held the power of life and death over their constituents.

The reform movement which has played such a prominent role in the annihilation of the machine has been activated by a rich variety of reform parties, charter parties, and citizens' unions. The local reform organization is sometimes strictly *sui generis*. Often one man, one devoted and inspired person, has slain the dragon of machine rule single handed. More commonly a group of reformers secures, usually by state legislation, the establishment of non-partisan elections. Illustrious examples of the results of such action are the administrations of Quigg Newton in Denver, Albert Cobo in Detroit, and Earl Glade in Salt Lake City. In smaller cities some kind of coalition of independents has frequently been able to instal a city manager.

When non-partisan reform government has once been established, the majority of the citizens, and the press, have usually defended it. But in New York City there has never been any organized backing for the reform mayors who were elected. With the exception of the *Herald Tribune* the newspapers were only lukewarm in their support of Fusion, that classic New York City reform institution which for half a century represented a coalition of the Republican Party, the Independent Democrats, and the democratic independents—the last, voters without any firm party affiliation.

As a movement rather than a party, Fusion spearheaded the drive to elect Strong mayor in 1894, Seth Low in 1903 and 1905, Mitchell in 1913, and LaGuardia in 1933. Since 1933 the City Fusion Party has diminished in size until today there is nothing left but a memory. Its chief defect before 1933 was that it was negative in outlook and avoided precinct or neighborhood organization as a matter of principle. None of its great mayors, not Mitchell, not even LaGuardia, were ever aware of the importance of electing an entire slate of candidates, for all the city,

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county, and borough offices, some of which are filled in years when there are no mayoralty elections.

By his highly personal technique of leadership, LaGuardia helped establish a new design of political control. Both his Tammany successors, O'Dwyer and Impellitteri, paid him the compliment of modeling their behavior on his. O'Dwyer not only joined hands with the American Labor Party in 1945, thereby becoming a sort of Fusion candidate, but clearly indicated that he was anti-organization. In the spring of 1946 he refused to attend the Victory celebration of the district clubs. He distributed patronage to county leaders, Warren Moscow asserted, not to reward but to reform them. But it became evident that he had neither the judgment nor the high sense of propriety that distinguished the Little Flower, and the voters finally turned against him. Impellitteri, denied the regular nomination in 1950, created the Experience Party—"an outfit," the *New Yorker* said," without previous existence, let alone experience."

LaGuardia's leading attribute was his terrific mobility. Arthur Guiterman, in a charming poem, had to use a long stanza just to list the daily activities of the "busy little mayor." LaGuardia established standards of administration which had a profound impact on local government everywhere. He allowed no one to dictate to him. Although the repeated alliances with the Republican Party (1929, 1933, 1937, 1941) and the parting blessing which he bestowed on Newbold Morris in 1945 seemed to indicate his conviction that the proper structure of Fusion was a coalition between independents and Republicans, this is belied by his vigorous and loyal advocacy of the philosophy of the New Deal as expressed by Roosevelt and Lehman. The bulk of his support always came from persons who voted Democratic in national and state elections.

But power is not secured merely by wielding the full authority of the mayor's office, ignoring the bosses, snubbing the legislature, and cultivating a bewildering variety of advisers and confidantes. LaGuardia's personal talents enabled him to stay in office twelve years. O'Dwyer barely squeaked through in 1949, and Impellitteri, triumphant in 1950, now faces difficulties which by common consent are due to his incapacity to provide a brand of leadership like the Little Flower's.

A STUDY of New York City's political experience during the past twenty years leads to these general conclusions:

First, if the mayor, the *primus candidatus,* does not wish to or cannot rely on a coalition for his support, he must create some other instrument or use one which someone else has created. LaGuardia used the A. L. P., launched in 1936 to attract independent labor votes to Roosevelt. By 1945 O'Dwyer had captured this party. After Sidney Hillman's death in 1946, the A. L. P. moved to the extreme left, and in 1948 it gave Wallace nearly half a million votes. But by 1952 it could only muster 63,136 votes for Hallinan. In the meantime it had ceased to be a factor in the Fusion movement. The role of the A. L. P. as stalwart opponent of Tammany Hall and champion of the New Deal was taken over in 1945 by the Liberal Party. It may be presumed that among those who vote the Liberal line are many workers, since labor leaders worked for its formation. The party apparently also contains a number of white-collar liberals of the type attracted by the leadership of A. A. Berle and George F. Counts. It is certainly identified with the philosophy of the Democratic Party and may be expected to serve the purpose once intrusted to the Fusion Party.

Unlike the C. F. P., however, the new Liberal Party will not be subordinated to the Republican organization. Its leading candidate in 1953 is the liberal Democrat, Rudolph Halley. The large vote obtained by Morris in 1945 and Impellitteri in 1950 through the use of *ad hoc* parties indicates that the importance of organized precinct workers in getting out the vote may have been overestimated. However, only Impellitteri has been elected mayor without such help, and he seems indisposed to repeat the experiment. Halley's nomination by the Liberal Party in 1951 and 1953 and the evident desire of all other candidates to have the backing of some political organization strongly indicate that this is the modern pattern.

The second conclusion to be drawn from New York City's experience is that the balance of power has swung away from the older ethnic and interest groups which formerly had a decisive voice in metropolitan politics. The Irish Catholics once held nearly all the elective and appointive offices in the city. The Italians won their first major office in 1933 with LaGuardia; in 1950 all the leading mayoralty candidates—Corsi, Pecora, Impellitteri—and the chairman of the A. L. P., Marcantonio, were Italian. Now with Lehman, Halley, Riegelman, and Javits the Jews are coming into their own.

Twenty years ago LaGuardia shared the vote of the young professional and business men with McKee and O'Brien;

The Collapse of New York City's Political Machine as Seen by Thomas Nast in 1871

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he received most of the votes of the career women. By 1950 it was evident that the young voters of both parties and both sexes were for "Impy." Of the present contenders Halley appears to be the favorite of the young people, but not, of course, of those no-longer-young Republicans who once clustered around Dewey, Brownell, and Curran. The housewives, traditionally subservient to the interests of their social and economic class, now the mainstay of the "television party," are for Halley.

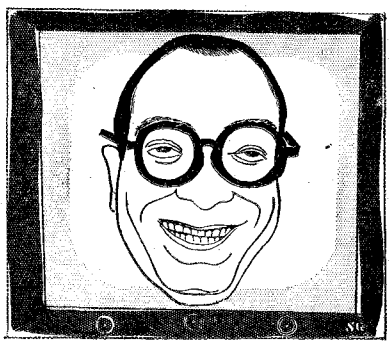
Thirdly, with the decline of the machine and the extinction of the Fusion Party, a new importance has been won by modern methods of communication. Old-time party organizations had innumerable ways of reaching the voter—party workers, police, petty functionaries, and the newspapers. When the newspapers showed signs of being uncooperative, LaGuardia turned to the radio. By 1950 television had become the most potent medium of communication.

SINCE THE weakening of the old instruments of control and the rise of television, the voters of New York City have been increasingly influenced by personal qualities and personalized techniques. Each candidate of any consequence has a well-defined personality. Rudolph Halley, who owed his election as Council president in 1951 to his renown as a crime investigator and television performer, has the qualifications which seem now to command the approval of the public. He is young; he is intelligent; he is honest; he is a Jew. He is a Democrat in national politics and an independent Liberal in local politics. He has already won a city-wide election. As president of the Council he has no administrative responsibilities; hence he has made no mistakes and no enemies. When Impellitteri said of him that "his votes were those of a man ambitious to be mayor," he was paying his colleague an unintentional compliment. Whether Halley should be able to meet expectations after he is elected mayor is another matter.

Impellitteri was elected as an independent, as a rebuke to the regular organization. A mayor who receives this kind of mandate must conduct his office according to what seem to be contradictory principles. He must appear to maintain full independence of politics and at the same time play politics for all he is worth. Only LaGuardia of all New York's mayors was able to do this; Impellitteri quite clearly has failed to duplicate his feat. Impellitteri has probably done as well as his famous predecessor in ceremony and showmanship, but he has never seemed to understand that this kind of behavior is of secondary importance.

It is interesting to note that of the leading Democratic candidates for mayor of New York not one is Irish. Wagner, the Tammany-Bronx candidate, is the mediocre son of a brilliant father to whose ideals he has tried to be loyal. Blaikie, the maverick Tammany district leader, strayed from regularity to support Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., and Impellitteri. He still likes young Roosevelt, but he is angry with the Mayor, and his candidacy is regarded as having too confused a motivation.

Of the men mentioned for the Republican nomination the best-known and the best-qualified was Robert Moses. It has been Moses's good fortune to have had continuous opportunities for public service, mostly as an appointive



Rudolph Halley

official. Once a candidate for governor, he has never been elected to any office, and this year he declined to run. Another good man given complimentary consideration by the Republicans was Jacob Javits, a Congressman of talent and independence. The final decision to choose Harold Riegelman was obviously based on the hope that he would be regarded as a "Fusion" Republican. His many years of service as counsel to the Citizens' Budget Commission will convince some people that the New York City Republicans esteem technical competence and non-partisanship over all else. Others will look on the acting postmaster as an advocate of the interests of the millionaire property-owners.

The course of political development in New York does not run exactly parallel to that in other American cities, but it is not strikingly divergent. In the heyday of the political machine most of the large cities of the North—Philadelphia, Cleveland, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Chicago, Omaha—were bossed by Republicans, and the reform "party" consisted of independents and Democrats in coalition. In the few cities where the machine was Democratic, independents and Republicans formed the reform coalition. New York City was, of course, the example par excellence of this type. About twenty years ago the political loyalties of the voters in most large cities underwent a transformation. They became Democratic, and at the same time many of the state governments changed hands. The tendency was for the Republican element in Fusion, or the anti-machine organization, to decline and for a Democratic-oriented local party to replace it.

As the machine disappeared and reform movements lost vitality, the mayor's office attracted stronger personalities. Some were attacked for their policies or practices but not for being the tools of political bosses. LaGuardia, Bowron, Clark, Kennelly, Lawrence, D'Allesandro, Hynes, Newton, Holcombe, Humphrey, Wyatt, Burke, Di Salle, Green, Morrison: the list is imposing.

The form of the new good-government parties is not yet clear. Where the law permits or provides non-partisanship, the element of personal leadership is strong. Of the forty mayors in the forty largest cities, twenty-four are Democrats and only nine are Republicans; the ten largest cities have either Democratic or non-partisan mayors. Thus it is certain that the new reform parties will have a Democratic nucleus. While there is a tendency to honor men from new ethnic groups, the vast majority of all American mayors are of Anglo-Saxon stock. Next come the Irish and the Germans. Grossly underrepresented are the people of Scandinavian, Italian, Slavic, and Jewish descent. In New York the barrier against the Jews appears to be slowly breaking down, but some mysterious mathematical law operates so that gains made in one decade or in one area or for one group of offices are paid for by setbacks at other times and places.

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MOROCCAN PUPPET SHOW

Strings Lead to Paris . . *by Claude Bourdet*

Paris

FOR years Morocco has been in the hands of a clique of powerful French settlers—owners of huge estates, of mines, and, recently, of industrial enterprises. These men have an extremely active "lobby," American style, in Paris. They have made and ousted high commissioners at will. Their chief instrument for the last seven years has been General Juin, now a marshal, himself born in North Africa, with all the racial prejudices and the ruthlessness of his kind. Juin was made High Commissioner in Morocco in 1947 when French politics under American influence were veering to the right. He remained there till he was transferred to NATO in 1952.

In various rightist circles Juin is looked upon as a possible "strong man" in an emergency—as De Gaulle used to be looked upon before the collapse of his party. A highly ambitious man, he considered that his one task in Morocco was to fight the Sultan, believing the Sultan the main obstacle to the French settlers' complete domination of North Africa. Possibly he also feared that the Sultan might be difficult to get around if Moroccan troops were needed for a coup d'état in France. To this end, with the help of a French capitalist press widely permeated by the colonialists' lobby, he built up the Pasha of Marrakesh, El Glaoui, a ninety-year-old brigand universally hated for his cruelty and extortions, into a kind of public figure as a "great lord of the Atlas," "a noble friend of France," and so on. He also fanned the ancient rivalry between the Sultan and the Pasha and encouraged the Pasha to attack the Sultan publicly. His efforts culminated in December, 1951, in an attempt to depose the Sultan which was only blocked by the pressure of international and French opinion on the French government.

The new High Commissioner, General Guillaume, appointed not quite a year ago, tried at first to apply a more liberal policy but quickly found himself at loggerheads with a large part of his administration, which is closely linked with the big colonials and remains in touch with its ex-boss, Juin. In December, 1952, the burly prefect of Casablanca, one of Juin's trusted agents, used a protest strike against the murder of the Tunisian labor leader, Hached, to engineer a wholesale slaughter of Moroccan workers. Guillaume's "weakness" was held responsible for the "riots."

The High Commissioner understood that he must fall in line with Juin or resign. Since then he has adopted Juin's policy in its entirety and visits Juin each time he comes to France. Last week a member of the government asked him, "Whom do you obey—the government or Marshal Juin?"

SINCE LAST January it has looked as if the settlers and Juin wanted a quick showdown with the Sultan, and were going to get it. There were many signs, in Morocco and even in France, of their growing confidence. When Juin, with the backing of certain again-powerful Vichy groups, was received into the Académie Française, an ancient and respected body of which he is as worthy to be a member as any "Colonel Blimp," he invited the Glaoui to the ceremony and reception, hailed him in his speech, and attacked bitterly his fellow-academician, the distinguished Catholic writer François Mauriac, for coming out in defense of the Moroccan people. For a time, however, French liberal and moderate conservative opinion, in conjunction with the government's fear of international complications, managed to prevent any overt move. Now, in midsummer, with French and international opinion off their guard and a reactionary government in power, the time to act had come.

Gathered around the Glaoui was a small group of two other pashas, out of twenty, and ten caids, out of a few hundred—these are provincial and tribal Moslem authorities. In addition, some three hundred puppets of little importance—local councilors nominated by the French, and the like—had been induced by bribery or threats to join the group, to make the thing look more important. This so-called "Marrakesh committee" was declared by French capitalist newspapers and by the state-controlled French news agency and radio to represent "true Moroccan opinion."

First it was allowed to "deprive" the Sultan of his religious powers—which it had about as much right to do as I, a Roman Catholic, to choose a new Pope—and to "elect" a new religious leader, Mohammed ben Arafa, a member of the Sultan's family known for his simple-mindedness and obedience to the French. Then the "Glaoui's supporters," small mercenary militias enjoying the protection of the French administration, started to march against the Sultan's capital, Rabat, while French troops, complete with tanks and armored cars, prevented any reaction of the panic-stricken population; all actual or potential leaders have been put in jail in the last months. The French forces surrounded the Sultan's palace to prevent his escape. General Guillaume consulted the Paris government—and "consulted" Juin.

The government orders seem to have been vague or, rather, ambiguous. On August 20, on account of the "pressure of the Glaoui's partisans"—pro-Glaoui warriors, only a few hundred according to the *Monde's* special correspondent, had camped with French permission around the pro-Sultan cities—and "to prevent civil war" Guillaume deported the Sultan by air to Corsica, breaking the 1912 treaty which pledges France to support and protect the Sultan. The next

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day the High Commissioner had the puppet ministers approve the new Sultan, and forced a number of religious authorities to indorse him.

Premier Laniel told an irate delegation of French Socialist deputies while the affair was under way: "I can't help it; it's another of Juin's tricks." The truth is that the North African colonials' lobby in Paris controls the votes of at least forty deputies, owners of North African businesses or obedient natives "elected" in sham elections. It can overturn any right government that does not obey its orders.

IRAN'S NEW STRONG MAN

Aura of Nazism . . . *by Andrew Roth*

London

EVERYONE here was amazed that Dr. Mossadegh's tragi-comic portrayal of a nationalist with the qualities of a Gandhi and a Machiavelli had a two-year run on the Persian stage. British critics—and more recently the Americans—thought his performance horrible. But by playing to the Persian gallery, Dr. Mossadegh blocked all attempts to cut it short.

The weeping Prime Minister has now finally been replaced by a chest-thumping militarist who was watching from the right wing and awaiting the nod of the vacillating young occupant of the royal box. The hard-profiled General Zahedi will not play to the gallery and will get no applause from the left. He will seek the plaudits of the large feudal landowners, tribal chieftains, obscurantist religious leaders like Kashani, and reactionary generals like himself. He clearly models his performance on that of the military dictator who made him a general, Reza Shah, the father of the present monarch.

The British public first heard about General Zahedi from Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean, now a Conservative M. P., who described his adventures in Iran in 1942 in a book called "Eastern Approaches." At that time Maclean was a heroic counter-intelligence kidnapper, and General Zahedi, then commander of the Persian forces at Isfahan, was a leading Nazi plotter. British and Russian

General Zahedi

forces had entered Iran in 1941 to safeguard that back door to embattled Russia. The pro-German Reza Shah had been replaced by his son.

German agents were known to be still active in southern Iran, and British counter-intelligence feared a rising of pro-Nazi Persian militarists like General Zahedi to coincide with a German offensive in the Soviet Caucasus and a German air-borne attack on the Allied Tenth Army. "Operation Pongo" was the British answer. A staff car flying the Union Jack drove openly up to General Zahedi's house. When the General came to the door, "he found himself," according to Maclean, "looking down the barrel of my Colt automatic." The General was smuggled out in the staff car with a gun in his ribs and flown off to Palestine.

Maclean wrote in his book: "General Zahedi, though pleasant to meet, was a really bad lot—a bitter enemy of the Allies, a man of unpleasant personal habits, and by virtue of his grain-hoarding activities a source of popular discontent and an obstacle to the efficient administration of South Persia."

AFTER THE Allies released him in 1945, General Zahedi became inspector of military forces in southern Iran, just in time to participate in the maneuver which gave the burgeoning Communist-led Tudeh Party its first setback. The Tudeh-led strike in the Abadan oil field in July, 1946, and the inclusion of three Tudeh ministers in the Qavam Cabinet in August, 1946, had frightened the British into counter-action along three lines. British troops were landed in Basra, the Iraqi port adjoining Abadan. The pro-British Iraqi government demanded the "return" of Khuzistan, the Persian province in which Abadan is located. And the tribes in southern Iran "spontaneously" threatened to revolt unless the Tudeh ministers were excluded from the Cabinet. General Zahedi, long an intimate of the tribal chieftains, acted as intermediary to persuade the very willing Qavam government to "capitulate" to this pressure.

In 1949 General Zahedi resumed the post of chief of the national police which he had held in 1931, a post rich in possibilities for furthering his ambition to become Prime Minister of an ultra-rightist government. But the more moderate and modern-minded General

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Razmara also had his eye on the premiership, with the backing of the Shah and Britain, and got Zahedi replaced by his own man. The Shah then named Zahedi to the Senate.

THE GENERAL'S present starring role is the climax of two years of wily maneuvers off stage and on. When Dr. Mossadegh in May, 1951, formed the government which nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, General Zahedi participated as Minister of the Interior. At this stage Dr. Mossadegh was anxious to carry with him the Shah and his right-wing military supporters. Zahedi was dismissed from the government three months later when it was disclosed by British correspondents that he was being groomed to be Mossadegh's successor by the court and the British embassy.

Out of the government, General Zahedi became leader of the influential Retired Officers' Association, whose numbers mounted as Mossadegh purged the army of 200 right-wing senior officers considered sympathetic to the Shah and likely to be used by him to oust the Premier. When the wily Zahedi saw the Mossadegh-Kashani alliance weakening last autumn, he entered into negotiations with the Mullah. Mossadegh retaliated by announcing he had quashed a "foreign-aided plot which aimed to make General Zahedi Prime Minister." As a senator Zahedi was immune from arrest, and from the Senate floor he accused Mossadegh of political blackmail, rigging the elections, creating moral and material chaos, and deceiving the nation with hypocritical claims. Within a few days Mossadegh cut a senator's term of office from six to two years, thus ending Zahedi's immunity.

Events now suggested that an army-court coup was maturing. In mid-February the Bakhtiari tribes—the Shah's wife, Soraya, is half-Bakhtiari and half-German—started a minor revolt. At the end of February, Zahedi was arrested and accused of planning to set up a shadow Cabinet to take over from Mossadegh. Two days later many members of his Retired Officers' Association, in conjunction with Kashani's followers, led the demonstrations which persuaded the Shah to change his plans for leaving the country. Dr. Mossadegh, always fearful of an army coup in the name of the Shah, renewed his effort to eliminate the Shah as commander-in-chief.

Zahedi was barely out of prison when he was linked to the kidnapping, torture, and murder of the chief of police, Brigadier Afshartous, in April.

The Communists gave General Zahedi his chance to be Iran's "man on horseback." The Shah was becoming clearly impatient with Mossadegh's efforts to depose him, win control of the army, and set up a dictatorship. Mossadegh was losing popular support through his quarrel with Kashani and his failure to break the British blockade or halt the decline of Persian currency. The incident which convinced the Shah that he would have American and British support if he overthrew Mossadegh was the demonstration by the Tudeh Communists on July 21, the first anniversary of the death of agitators killed while protesting the July, 1952, dismissal of Mossadegh.

On August 14 the Shah signed the decree dismissing Dr. Mossadegh and appointing General Zahedi Premier. When Dr. Mossadegh did not immediately comply, the Shah fled temporarily, leaving the dirty work to General Zahedi. There was no one in Iran more suitable to undertake it.

DENT IN THE CROWN

Leftists Win in Guiana . . *by Samuel Boyea*

THE recent general election in British Guiana was a landslide for the four-year-old People's Progressive Party, which won eighteen of the twenty-four elective seats in the House of Assembly; the National Democratic Party got two and the Independents four. As established under the new constitution, which granted universal adult suffrage, the House of Assembly also includes three official members who are ministers in the Executive Council, one appointed from the State Council, and a speaker appointed by the governor, who presides.

The victory of the People's Progressive Party entitled it to ten ministerial positions, thereby creating a clear "left" majority in the policy-making Executive Council. The P. P. P. also has two seats on the nine-member State Council, the minority parties choosing one and the governor six. The governor has the "reserve" powers of the veto but is not expected to use them except in extreme cases. Since the opposition in the House consists of only three official and six elected members, the onus of acting as an opposition falls on the State Council.

The extent of the so-called "Communist" victory in British Guiana has led to the exchange of what one United States columnist called "frantic cables" between the American State Department and the British Foreign Office over the "surge of communism in the Caribbean —just across from the Panama Canal." While the election results may not represent a surge, it must be admitted that never before has a country this side of the Iron Curtain, and an "English-speaking" one at that, handed power in such definite terms to a political party labeled Communist. Before going into the reasons, let us see how "Commu-

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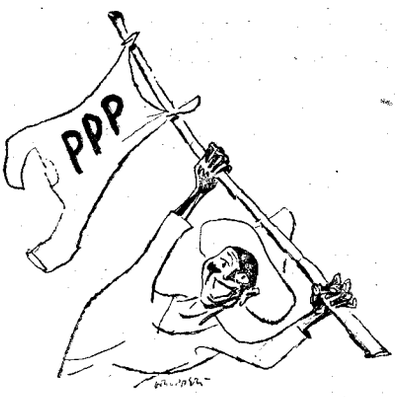
nist" the People's Progressive Party really is.

It is led by the shrewd, suave Hindu dentist Dr. Cheddi Jagan, who worked his way through Howard and Northwestern universities in the late thirties by selling ice-cream on summer nights on Harlem's Lenox Avenue and tailoring by day. Now thirty-seven, Dr. Jagan is one of the two avowed pro-Communists in the party; his wife Janet, a likable and brilliant American woman, is the other. The secretary and a co-founder of the P. P. P., Janet appears to be the brains behind the charming Cheddi. The party's official organ, *Thunder,* has unfailingly disputed any local aspersions on the "political freedoms" in the Soviet Union and has often equated the struggle of the Guiana "sugarcake" workers with Russia's efforts to establish "peace, progress, and prosperity."

Behind the Jagans and *Thunder* one finds a devoted and active group—the "fellow-travelers" so peculiar to West Indian politics who can at once serve "God, Marx, and the British Empire." The top man among these is the thirty-three-year-old highly successful Negro barrister Linden Forbes S. Burnham, now Minister of Education. After managing the P. P. P. election campaign Burnham was acclaimed as the architect of the party's new vote-getting approach, which can be summed up as: "What is a little Marxism between friends fighting for a common end?"

Others in the group are a Negro school teacher who wept at the "progress" he saw behind the Iron Curtain while visiting there with Dr. Jagan, a couple of wealthy East Indian landed proprietors, an Indian and a Negro sugar-estate hand, a Negro woman minister who wants to serve the Lord by serving the political needs of the people, a Negro scholar trained at government expense at Ruskin College, Oxford, and a Confucian Chinese justice of the peace.

HOW DID IT HAPPEN that this first general election under adult suffrage revolved around the Communist issue in a country that has never had a Communist Party and until recently was held under tight Crown-colony rule? How did the leftists win so convincingly in Guiana when in wild-eyed, loud-talking, Bustamente-bewitched Jamaica the People's Progressive Party "got religion" and purged its own Marxist members? The explanation lies partly in the fanatical fight of the press and the police to "crush the Communists" at the risk of violating the people's fundamental right to choose their own representatives. Arrayed against two of the shrewdest leftists in the Caribbean area, the press and police found themselves striking out against every measure beneficial to the people, simply because the so-called Communists advocated it. Police behavior also literally made martyrs of the Jagans. The Jagans themselves did not mind, for when they were forbidden to



"trespass" on sugar estates, with their brittle backbone of discontented labor, the mere fact that Janet Jagan, white and alien, wanted to go there threw the country into an uproar. As one estate owner said, "white women in the tropics do not behave in this unseemly manner." The East Indian and Negro masses loved her for it and welcomed her to their homes.

When the press succeeded in provoking immigration legislation prohibiting certain types of visitors, the P. P. P. became the symbol of the torn shirt of the masses hoisted on a sturdy sugar cane. Shrewd Janet divided the opposition when she told the people "it is particularly obnoxious to have a law of this sort at a time when we're plugging for federation." West Indian federation was opposed by the press and incumbent legislature on the ground that it subverted British Guiana's manifest destiny, but it is of vital necessity to the economy of the area. The major problem in the area as a whole has always been overpopulation—too little land, too many people; British Guiana, as the only underpopulated region, could provide a solution.

The religious issue also backfired in the Jaganites' favor. Although the wise old Anglican Archbishop of the West Indies frankly told the people to vote for men and issues and forget party labels, the Jagans and the P. P. P. were attacked by sections of the church as "our godless enemies." The press chimed in that they were non-Christians. Since so many of the natives are Hindus, Moslems, and African "shakers" who hardly ever think of themselves as Christians, this call to the faith did not have much effect.

BUT THE DECISIVE factor in the P. P. P.'s victory was probably the Subversive Literature Control bill. Long deprived of adequate schooling, the people of British Guiana have a passionate regard for the printed word. A man amounts to something when he can read and write. So when a bill was introduced to keep out all literature inimical to the interests of Her Majesty and her subjects in British Guiana, the people rallied around the P. P. P., against which it was aimed. Passage of the bill was followed by the seizure of 6,000 pieces of Soviet literature and a few motion pictures of life behind the Iron Curtain owned by the Jagans.

But the Jagans grew in stature, and their opponents knew it. Some became lethargic; others waved the smear-brush desperately, claiming discovery of a family relationship between Janet Jagan (born Rosenberg) and Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg, then under sentence of death for espionage.

Yet it must not be assumed that the People's Progressive Party owed its victory to the stupidity of its opponents. The P. P. P. had a positive program, the first item of which was land reform, a vital need in a monocultural society where sugar is king. Domestic wages and control of the foreign market through federation also got a good play. So did appointments of native sons to policy-making positions, pension rights, and social security.

The lesson to be learned from it all is that when well-intentioned patriots, even in an English-speaking country, make the mistake of labeling age-old freedoms as Communist issues and let so-called "Communist-led" groups advocate, propagate, and defend them, the voting goes against the patriots.

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BOOKS

Economics Without Yawns

THE WORLDLY PHILOSOPHERS. By Robert L. Heilbroner. Simon and Schuster. $5.

By Keith Hutchison

MOST of the many attempts to popularize the dismal science of economics have proved dismal failures. Some of their authors have been poor economists, some of them poor writers, some of them both. Frequently they have been men with an ax to grind. Their primary purpose has not been to interest and instruct the reader in economics as a field of thought but to sell him a doctrinal bill of goods, to persuade him of the unique rightness of capitalism or communism, of the urgent need for some new monetary system, or, perhaps, of the necessity of abolishing money altogether.

Even "popular" treatises not so hampered by faults of style or matter have seldom proved best-sellers, for this is a subject which the average citizen is apt to regard as an unfathomable mystery. What writer on economics has not frequently been told: "Oh, no! I never read your articles. I couldn't possibly understand them. Economics is just Greek to me"—a confession, incidently, that may easily be accompanied by dogmatic judgments on economic questions.

Yet as Mr. Heilbroner says in his introduction, "a man who thinks that economics is only a matter for the professors forgets that this is the science that has sent men to the barricades. A man who has looked into an economics textbook and concluded that economics is boring is like a man who has read a primer on logistics and decided that the study of warfare must be dull."

Appalled by such attitudes, Mr. Heilbroner has bravely attempted to make this caviar among the intellectual disciplines a general dish. Quite possibly he will succeed, as he certainly deserves to. For although he occasionally falls into one of the traps that beset the path of the popularizer and talks down to his audience, for the most part he manages to combine instruction and entertainment without being flip. He has, moreover, thoroughly digested his material; he writes with clarity and wit and has a real gift for translating the technical language of the economists into plain English. Above all, he has no ax to grind. Readers will find here a fair discussion of the principal economic systems but no propaganda for any of them. A few factual errors call for correction: coal has never been mined in Cornwall; Henry Villard was the promoter of the Northern Pacific, not the Union Pacific.

MR. HEILBRONER'S approach to his subject is biographical and historical. He provides brief sketches of the great economists, whom he calls "the worldly philosophers" because "they sought to embrace in a scheme of philosophy the most worldly of all man's activities—his drive for wealth." Skilfully woven into the stories of their lives is an account of their ideas that stresses the contemporary context. Thus we see Adam Smith, absent-minded but acutely observant prophet of the free market, constructing a rationale for the competitive capitalism that in his day was just beginning its triumphant development. We see Parson Malthus, at a time when Britain's population was growing rapidly, when prices were rising and poverty spreading, asserting that population must steadily tend to outstrip the food supply until famine restores an equilibrium. We see Marx in exile, applying his scalpel to the body of capitalism, diagnosing its symptoms of decay, and prophesying its inevitable self-destruction. We see John Maynard Keynes, teacher, man of the world, financial wizard, and great public servant, puzzling over the prolongation of the great depression and concluding that there was no automatic pump to restart the flow of investment when economic activity sank to a low level and that priming action by government was necessary to avert disaster.

While there are many famous economists who are merely referred to in this book or not mentioned at all, the author has made a catholic selection. In addition to discussing the great system-makers, he gives us some account of the Utopians —Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier— who represented a passionate protest against the horrors of the Industrial Revolution and the gloomy fundamentalism of Malthus and Ricardo. He shows us how John Stuart Mill brought the economic debate from the pure mechanics of the market to the realm of ethics and free-will. A chapter on the late Victorian era points out that the academics, intent on reducing economics to mathematical formulas, ignored the amateurs and dissenters who saw much better than they the shape of things to come. This reviewer is particularly delighted to find in these pages recognition for that shy, thoughtful heretic John A. Hobson, whose study of economic imperialism was a work of seminal importance and who anticipated in part the Keynesian theory.

In his first chapter Mr. Heilbroner notes that for thousands of years society solved the problem of production for survival "by custom or command," leaving no scope for a science of economics. That science developed with the advent of the market system, in which "the lure of gain, not the pull of tradition or the whip of authority, steers each man to his task." That was the economic revolution, "the most important revolution, from the point of view of shaping modern society, that ever took place."

Has this revolution now run its course? That is the question posed but not answered conclusively in the final pages of this book. Mr. Heilbroner points out, however, that even in Europe and North America, the only segment of the globe where the market system has ever been permitted full play, people are no longer prepared to accept its dictates as conclusive. "The questions which face us in the future are not the purely economic ones of whether corporations will naturally grow larger or whether we will suffer from business cycles, but the moral ones of whether we will *let* corporations grow unchecked and whether we will *allow* business cycles to develop their

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full momentum unchecked. . . . To the extent that this is true, to the extent that we no longer let the game of economics proceed unhindered to its natural outcome, we are going beyond the economic revolution."

This does not mean that economic forces will no longer play an important part in our lives. Even though conscious choice replaces in an increasing degree the impersonal guidance of the market, we still need to understand the economic consequences of our collective decisions. Any form of planned economy places a heavy responsibility on government, that is, ultimately, on all of us. Consequently, an intelligent grasp of economic problems and mechanisms ought to be part of the equipment of every voter. For his contribution toward the realization of this ideal, Mr. Heilbroner is to be warmly commended.

New Books in Brief

Reversed Roles

JAPAN AND AMERICA TODAY. By Edwin O. Reischauer and Others. Stanford. $3.

History, the deadpan muse, is the real editor of this collection of material emanating from a conference of Americans and Japanese under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations of Hawaii. The contributions include a study of "Potential Sources of Japanese-American Friction" by Edwin O. Reischauer; a complementing essay on "Bases of American-Japanese Cooperation" by William Henry Chamberlin, who deprecates Japanese neutralism; a State Department tabulation of "United States Relations with Japan, 1945-52"; economic discussions by J. Morden Murphy (a banker), Shogo Yamaguchi (an editor), and Jerome B. Cohen (a professor); and a condensed record of the discussions at the conference.

What emerges most clearly is that since the Japanese surrender, the MacArthur occupation, and the Korean war America and Japan have changed ends on the seesaw of power politics in Asia. In the 1930's even Japanese "moderates" held that the grand design of stability required China to submit to Japanese hegemony. They did not object to Chiang Kai-shek; what they did object to was his refusal to fight the Chinese Communists in a way that would have made him a subordinate ally of Japan. They thought that the expansion of capitalism and the containment of Russia would work best if America would invest in Japan, leaving Japan to create the operating agencies for developing raw materials and expanding trade on the mainland of Asia. They accepted the economics of armament as essential to the structure of Japan.

Today it is the Japanese who do not "believe that Chiang Kai-shek could provide the prestige necessary to cement divergent groups in an attempt to regain control [in China]." The idea of Japanese hegemony seems to have been replaced by a willingness to allow Asian nations to determine their own needs, and to offer them the goods and skills that Japan can supply for the filling of those needs. The idea that Japan can be used to determine the trends of economic and strategic development in Asia seems now to be more an American theory than a Japanese ambition. Certainly on the question of rearmament it is the Americans who are eager and the Japanese who are cautious.

As for investment in Japan, an American view here reflected is that American capital is entitled to the rewards of risk-taking, plus "government insurance" to eliminate risk. This view is not described as creeping socialism but as "a policy that would find considerable support" in the Eisenhower Administration.

Poetry Made Exciting

POETRY AND THE AGE. By Randall Jarrell. Knopf. $4.

Jarrell is one of the most exciting critics of poetry we have when he is talking about specific poets or poems. He is less useful when he goes on at the top of his voice about the impudence of critics, or assures you that if you disagree with an opinion you would boil your babies up for soap, or summons up the massed fire power of history, posterity, or the future to cover his strategic withdrawals. This collection of essays includes a brilliant and wonderfully balanced evaluation of Marianne Moore —with that classic line "Like the *Literary Digest,* she sent postcards to only the nicer animals"—as well as excellent analyses of Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, John Crowe Ransom, and Robert Lowell (although not the earlier, better one that appeared in this magazine).

It also includes a good deal of intemperate polemic about the role of this or that and two jobs of special pleading, on Frost and Whitman, which try by selective quotation, belligerent assertions that poem after poem is "an immortal masterpiece," and assurances that Shakespeare and Dante would agree, to establish Frost in the canon as an American Hardy and Whitman as an American Hopkins; the most charitable judgment here would be the ancient Scottish verdict of "Not Proven." Jarrell's picturesque metaphors sometimes seize him in their talons and fly off with him, and he is more patient than readers will probably be with his weakness for what he calls "indignant exaggeration," but most of "Poetry and the Age" is nevertheless eloquent, just, and beautifully written, and even where Jarrell is most wrong-headed he can be a delight to read.

The Snail

The snail is the perfect solipsist:
For home, secretes his spiral past,
And since he likes the dark and damp,
Dwells inside without a lamp.

There the I is never free
Of its autobiography;
Comes outside his armor-plate
Only to feed and copulate.

At times puts forth his horns and
snout,
And then politely looks about;
But in a moment will withdraw
To misinterpret what he saw.

Lives as furtive as an elf,
Broods and dreams, cuckolds himself:
And from the slime left by the snail,
The sun contrives a silver trail.

SAMUEL YELLEN

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Existentialist Solution

EXISTENTIALISM AND THE MODERN PREDICAMENT. By F. H. Heinemann. Harper. $3.50.

This professional review of the procession of existentialist philosophers makes it clear that existentialism is not a single philosophy but a series of different attitudes coined in a common attempt to solve the problems of the modern spiritual crisis. In a world where man feels cut off from nature by technology, cut off from God by science, and cut off from himself by neurosis, it becomes necessary for him to formulate his position anew. That is what the existentialists since Kierkegaard have tried, in widely varying ways, to do. Careful analysis reveals mystery and inconsistency in much of the speculation of Heidegger, Jaspers, Marcel, and other thinkers, but Professor Heinemann feels it necessary to take special precautions against Sartre, of whose attractions he seems well aware. However, his exposition of Sartre's philosophy is so clear, and compares so favorably in coherence with his treatment of other figures, that Sartre emerges as the hero of the book. In Sartre one at least finds an understandable connection between his paradoxical doctrines of nothingness and liberty in bondage and the experiences of the German occupation of France. If he is inadequate on logical and ethical grounds, similar objections, according to Professor Heinemann, can be made against other existentialists whose ideas do not have the challenging relevance of Sartre's. In a final chapter the author offers his own approach to modern problems. Man's distinguishing characteristic is his response to the universe rather than his existence in it, and an exploration of this faculty may serve as a key to the solution of his spiritual dilemmas.

Girl Under Water

LADY WITH A SPEAR. By Eugenie Clark. Harper. $3.50.

Under-water books are in rather large supply at the moment. This is one of the most enjoyable, partly because the obviously modest and intelligent author takes her unusual interests and adventures so much as a matter of course. A Saturday-afternoon visit to the old Aquarium at the Battery settled the course of her life. She kept tropical fish, graduated from Hunter College, studied at Woods Hole and the Scripps Institute, and so quite naturally found herself a little later first in the South Pacific, then at the Red Sea. Without either glamorizing or debunking she tells us a bit about some interesting research problems, rather more about fish, fishermen, and various underwater exploits in out-of-the-way places. It is all related very simply and directly by a young lady who manages to seem typically American in everything except her career.

Wilson and the British

THE ROAD TO SAFETY: A Study in Anglo-American Relations. By Sir Arthur Willert. Praeger. $3.50.

Washington correspondent for the London *Times* before, during, and after World War I, later a Foreign Office official particularly concerned in American affairs, the author of this book is admirably equipped to discuss relations between Britain and the United States. Primarily his concern is to throw light on those relations during the Wilsonian period, and in so doing he gives some vivid sketches of the men primarily involved—Woodrow Wilson, Colonel House, the British ambassador Sir Cecil Spring Rice, Lord Northcliffe, Mr. Arthur Balfour and others. But these portraits are subsidiary to an illuminating account of a little-known figure, Sir William Wiseman, who was sent to this country in 1915 to head the rudimentary British secret-service organization. Wiseman became friendly with Colonel House and through him with Wilson. Thus at a critical moment he was in a favorable position to serve as unofficial liaison between Washington and London, a role all the more important in that Spring Rice had made himself disliked by his outspoken comments on American neutrality.

It is not often that a case-hardened reviewer complains that a book is too short, but this one certainly errs on the side of brevity. Sir Arthur is clearly in a position to write a history of Anglo-American relations from 1914 to the Peace of Versailles. It is too bad he has contented himself with an extended footnote.

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Canadian Statesman

JOHN A. MACDONALD: THE YOUNG POLITICIAN. By Donald Creighton. Houghton Mifflin. $7.50.

Although we are gradually becoming aware of the emergence of Canada as a stable, rich, and potent nation, there is still in the United States little interest in or understanding of its history. Thus the subject of this book, chief architect of the Dominion of Canada and its first Prime Minister, is probably hardly more than a name to most readers of *The Nation.* Yet his achievements entitle him to be ranked among the foremost statesmen of North America.

Unlike his great successors, Laurier and MacKenzie King, Macdonald was nominally a conservative; like them he was essentially a centrist, for only a moderate with a genius for compromise could hope to overcome the centrifugal forces of race and geography that in the middle of the last century threatened to destroy the several colonies of British North America. The climactic chapters of this book tell of the three-year struggle which ended in 1867 in the triumph of the unionists led by Macdonald. Professor Creighton of the University of Toronto tells this part of the story with considerable dramatic force. Unfortunately his earlier chapters, on Macdonald's gradual climb to prominence, are so overloaded with the minutiae of provincial politics that they are likely to repel the unprofessional reader.

Anna and the King Again

SIAMESE HAREM LIFE. By Anna H. Leonowens. Dutton. $3.75.

This is the Anna of "Anna and the King of Siam," and the book is a sort of supplement to her own "English Governess at the Siamese Court." The City of Veiled Women, inhabited only by the wives, concubines, and female relatives of the king, with their slaves and personal attendants, had a population of about 9,000 souls, all completely dependent on the royal whim. Mrs. Leonowens' book is a rather quaint garland of stories and vignettes illustrating the hazards and cruelties of life within this walled city.

Destruction Through Love

THE VIOLENT WEDDING. By Robert Lowry. Doubleday. $3.

A curious and gifted novel that falls squarely between serious fiction and entertainment. Mr. Lowry is a natural prose writer whose earlier work has drawn praise from Hemingway, Algren, and Saroyan, and the present story of a Negro boxer is immensely readable, and sometimes highly effective. The white heroine is a disenchanted Greenwich Village artist whose failure in love has destroyed her life. As a last desperate recourse she fixes on Paris "Baby" James to save herself, or more accurately to complete her destruction; to him, at the start, the love affair is a dubious and dangerous attraction.

The portrait of Paris and the scenes of boxing lore are first-rate; the fear, the resentment, the hostility of the Negro hero are nicely joined with the cunning and the dignity of a professional fighter. Even the heroine—a Faulknerian type at best—has her moments of conviction, warmth, and tragedy. The trouble is that beneath the attractive surface of the narrative, the real studies of depth psychology are omitted; Mr. Lowry's insights are all compressed into the dimensions of a dramatic "narrative." The result is a good story which is not quite convincing.

Tedious Pleasures

THE DESIRE AND THE PURSUIT OF THE WHOLE. By Frederick Rolfe, Baron Corvo. New Directions. $4.

Among the group of English eccentrics and decadents who contributed to the *Yellow Book* at the turn of the century, Frederick Rolfe, who yearned to be a priest and called himself Baron Corvo, still remains a puzzling figure. Just as his best book, "Hadrian the Seventh," dramatized his early years, the present volume describes his final exile in Venice, which he loved and clung to despite misery, poverty, and sickness. It is an interesting addition to the literature of oddity.

The central story is a romance of a disillusioned aristocrat (Rolfe's favorite pose) with a boyish girl—or a girlish boy—who is also a perfect servant, an adoring disciple, a rapt and mute audience for the master's wisdom and wit. (The comparison with Hemingway's "Across the River" is obvious.) One enjoys the verbal exuberance, the exotic learning, the richness of the abuse and invective which are applied to the surrounding, and altogether despicable, group of Rolfe's fellow-expatriates in the

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Italian scene. But in the end one feels that this world of private pleasure is too narrow, too narcissistic and infantile, and rather tedious. The aesthetic superman of Rolfe's fantasy—"the cleverest, tenderest, unhappiest, most dreadful of all men"—is really rather tame.

Whimsy as Allegory

THE TRAIN IN THE MEADOW. By Robert Nathan. Knopf. $2.75.

Mr. Nathan should really take himself in hand before it is too late. Or is it? The present opus is another whimsical satire about our parlous times. A train stops in a meadow which is anywhere (U. S. A.). On this train there are many modern *types,* or spirits who are being transported across the border into a land of mystery. The hero is an orphan boy who has no passport; the little heroine, aged twelve, surrenders hers in order to save him. The solution is love: O childlike love! O allegory!

Cain Running Down

GALATEA. By James M. Cain. Knopf. $3.

James Cain, who is a brilliant technician and can be a first-rate practitioner of the hard-boiled novel, is running down. The fact that the present setting is southern Maryland instead of California hardly makes the story less banal. The heroine, with a beautiful face and a grotesque body, is put on a diet by a prize fighter with a heart of gold. Imagine the complications when you add a jealous husband, foul play, brutality, blood. One yearns for Mr. Cain's authentic sadism.

Record Notes

Bach: Concerto No. 2 in E Major, for violin and orchestra; Francescatti with Szell and the Columbia Symphony (Columbia); expertly machined, pretty uninteresting.

Bartok: Contrasts for violin, clarinet, and piano; Szigeti, Bartok, and Goodman (Columbia); Mann, Drucker, and Hambro (Bartok); a fine piece, witty and inventive; the new performance seems more flexibly dramatic than the old Szigeti performance, and it is much better recorded, except for an occasional high-frequency resonance. (The Columbia record contains also Bartok's Rhapsody No. 1 for violin and piano and his Portrait, Op. 5, No. 1, for violin and orchestra—fairly interesting pieces, well played by Szigeti.)

Dance Suite; Solti and the London Philharmonic (London); entertaining music, well performed.

Folk Songs of Hungary, Vol. II; Chabay and Kozma (Bartok); a few beautiful pieces, well performed. (With some folk songs arranged by Kodaly.)

"For Children," Vol. I; Pressler (MGM); effective enough for their purpose, good performance.

Sonata for unaccompanied violin; Tworak (London); Mann (Bartok); a very beautiful slow movement, the rest not very rewarding; Mann's is by far the better performance, but Tworak's is better recorded.

Three Rondos, Sonatina, and 8 Pieces from "For Children"; Kabos (Bartok); attractive music, rather aggressively performed and recorded. (With Kodaly's Seven Piano Pieces, Op. 11.)

Beethoven: Sonatas for piano, Op. 27, Nos. 1 and 2, Op. 49, Nos. 1 and 2; Backhaus (London); spiritless performances.

Sonata for cello and piano, Op. 69; Feuermann and Hess (Columbia); a dubbing of the fine old performance, with considerable surface noise. (With Beethoven's Variations on "Bei Männern" and Reger's Suite for unaccompanied 'cello, Op. 131c, No. 1.)

String Quartet, Op. 131; Paganini Quartet (Victor); a fine performance, less powerful than the Budapest Quartet's but more beautiful-sounding.

Brahms: Violin Concerto; Spalding with Loibner and the Austrian Symphony (Remington); first movement well performed, the rest quite poor.

Debussy: String Quartet, Op. 10; Budapest Quartet (Columbia); an excellent dubbing of the superb old performance. (With Ravel's Quartet in F Major.)

Haydn: Concerto for 'cello and orchestra; Feuermann with Sargent and Symphony Orchestra (Columbia); a dubbing of the fine old performance, with considerable surface noise.

Symphonies No. 7 ("Le Midi") and 45 ("Farewell"); Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); good performances.

Mozart: Sonatas for piano four hands, K. 358 and 381; Vronsky and Babin (Columbia); charming pieces put through the Vronsky and Babin clockworks.

Prokofiev: Concerto No. 2 in G Minor for violin and orchestra; Francescatti with Mitropoulos and the New York Philharmonic (Columbia); a million-dollar performance with little interesting musical life.

Schubert: Sonata in A Minor ("Arpeggione"); Feuermann and Moore (Columbia); a dubbing of the fine old performance, with considerable surface noise.

Gregorian Chants: Mt. Angel Seminary Gregorian Choir, conducted by Nicholson (Gregorian Institute of America); crudely mannered singing, poor diction.

Of Gods and Demons: operatic selections by Wagner, Berlioz, Gounod, Boito, Moussorgsky, and Rubinstein; London, with Moralt and the Vienna Symphony, and Adler and the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra (Columbia); the solemn music is impressively sung, but the selections that ask for wit and grace come off quite heavily.

The Piano from Mozart to Bartok; Webster (Perspective); a routine piano recital; very noisy surfaces.

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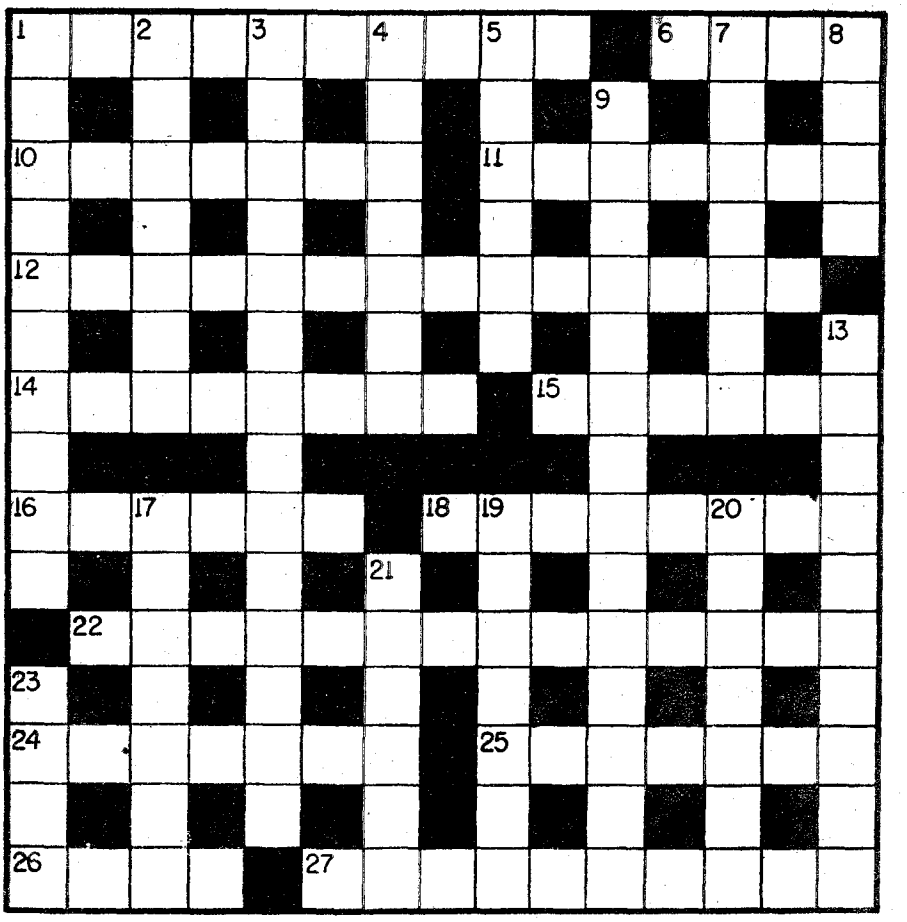
Crossword Puzzle No. 531

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Extremely porcine food for a big shot? (4-6)
6 See 23 down
10 Place where the sun god is either included or by himself? (7)
11 "The mysteries of this machine called Man! Oh the little that _____s it: poor creatures that we are!" Dickens, *The Chimes.* (7)
12 In a forward manner, before how we'd like to live? (14)
14 A low duet, as Robinhood and Friar Tuck were. (8)
15 Got the change for a quarter? (6)
16 Elia and I are both confused—it's a fine way to treat a body. (6)
18 Fix to dine? One who does should be 14! (6, 2)
22 Their members are sometimes in rather awkward shape! (14)
24 For the time being, before 6 it implies a piece is held vertically. (7)
25 There's something explosive about the Eternal City, in a way. (7)
26 Done like a knot, when untangled. (4)
27 Though they're common in operas, one might be strange on the stage. (10)

DOWN

1 In some sets, they permit one to be 2 without disturbing others. (10)
2 A united state of disorder. (7)
3 o? (8, 6)
4 No longer plentiful, for instance? (7)
5 Confine the command to quiet. (4, 2)
7 Tinkle? (7)
8 The way to check a trunk? (4)
9 What did Orwell imply was watched by it? The very idea! (7, 7)
13 Comes around to lay down as a principle, but made up of parts. (10)
17 The place to look for a novel denouement? (7)
19 It's demonstrative to sort of let a heraldic flower bloom. (7)
20 A sort of cat-tail? (7)
21 You might recognize such a person, if one came out of his trance! (6)
23 and 6 Well supplied with weapons, and ready to fight! (2, 2, 4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 530

ACROSS:—1 BULLETIN BOARD; 10 ANTONIO; 11 INTEGER; 12 CHERISHES; 13 PIECE; 16 CONFUSES; 19 BEGINNER; 20 CHASTE; 22 LULLS; 23 THROWBACK; 25 CUT-OUTS; 26 FORAGER; 27 GOLDEN WEDDING.

DOWN:—2 UNTIE; 3 LONG ISLAND SOUND; 4 TROPHY; 5 NAINSOOK; 6 ON TOP OF THE WORLD; 7 REGRESSES; 8 WATCH FOR; 9 and 14 FREE-FOR-ALL; 15 RIGOLETTO; 17 SPEAKERS; 18 JETTISON; 21 TRIFLE; 22 LUCK; 24 ARGON.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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(Continued from inside front cover)

of Hiss and Chambers as the blind man who, fondling the elephant's tail, was convinced he was dealing with a new species of snake. The Earl was a long way away, and, judging from Mr. Wright's review, his approach to the evidence varied from the purely legalistic, when it suited his purpose, to value judgments about the foolishness of honest men and the wickedness of fools, when such personalized reactions better suited his thesis.

Ira Wolfert's essay seemed more to the point, for he was considerably closer to the developing puzzle. And although his final reaction, like that of most of us, was probably as much the result of early emotional conditioning as of the weighing of cumulative evidence, at least he concocted a vivid psychological parable to buttress his opinion.

San Francisco RIDGELY CUMMINGS

Without a Scapegoat

Dear Sirs: Our country suddenly finds itself without a scapegoat. For more than a quarter of a century Joseph Stalin was the goat for our politicians and priests, Babbitt Club orators, professional spellbinders for chambers of commerce, and editorial pundits. These experts on Stalin sprang up like garden weeds. The members of the fraternity could tell us at any time what "Old Joe" was thinking of, what his intentions were, when he planned to attack us, and how many A-bombs he thought we had. His past "crimes" were aired in great detail with the usual confidence of the uninformed. He was frequently tried in absentia by our statesmen, and of course found guilty and properly sentenced—all in regular order except that the sentences were not executed.

It is difficult to know whether politicians or newspaper publishers are the greater losers from Stalin's passing. For many years the long-suffering American citizen has been obliged to witness our embryonic statesmen tearing their hair over Stalin and his communistic "aggressions." Millions of mare's nests of Communists have been unearthed. All were working under the immediate direction of "Old Joe"; all were plotting "violent overthrow" of our government. The fact that 99.9 per cent of American citizens have never seen a Communist out of captivity had no bearing on the activities of these spellbinders. If two candidates, usually lawyers, were running for Congress, each vigorously engaged in slaying Communist dragons, as the *only* issue, the discerning voter did not find it very easy to know which one of them could be expected to make the better statesman.

Now we find that Catholic Italy is half Communist, a situation not at all according to Hoyle, for we have spent many billions "saving" Italy from communism. Here is a people all educated in schools under complete control of the "only true church," blessed by the hierarchy of the "only true religion," with God's earthly representative living in their midst; yet half of them vote Communist!

With Stalin gone and more than half the world Communist, how are we to make statesmen from our raw material? With no "Old Joe" to execrate, and no Communist dragons to slay, we apparently are in for a dull, drab period. The "people," or at least that section of them which has been exposed to Christianity, must have a saint to love and a sinner to hate. With the deflation of MacArthur and the death of Joe, they are left with neither.

Yakima, Wash. IRA D. CARDIFF

Scholar and Communist?

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of July 18 a brief communication from Frederica Kirchner mentions "an eminent and respected [Danish] scholar who has been connected with the Communist Party."

Can you or any of your contributors give a plausible explanation of how an eminent and respected scholar, not yet behind the Iron Curtain, can support the Communist Party? I don't mean a Freudian explanation, in terms of childhood frustrations, or lust for power, or the like. I mean a common-sense explanation of why any artist or intellectual, presumably functioning as a normal, not too neurotic adult, would willingly surrender whatever freedom he can still enjoy in the Western world to that "tyranny over the mind of man" against which he should be just as hostile as Jefferson ever was. Or is communism in action *not* a tyranny over the mind of man?

New York MILTON KADISON

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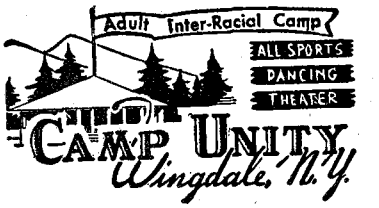

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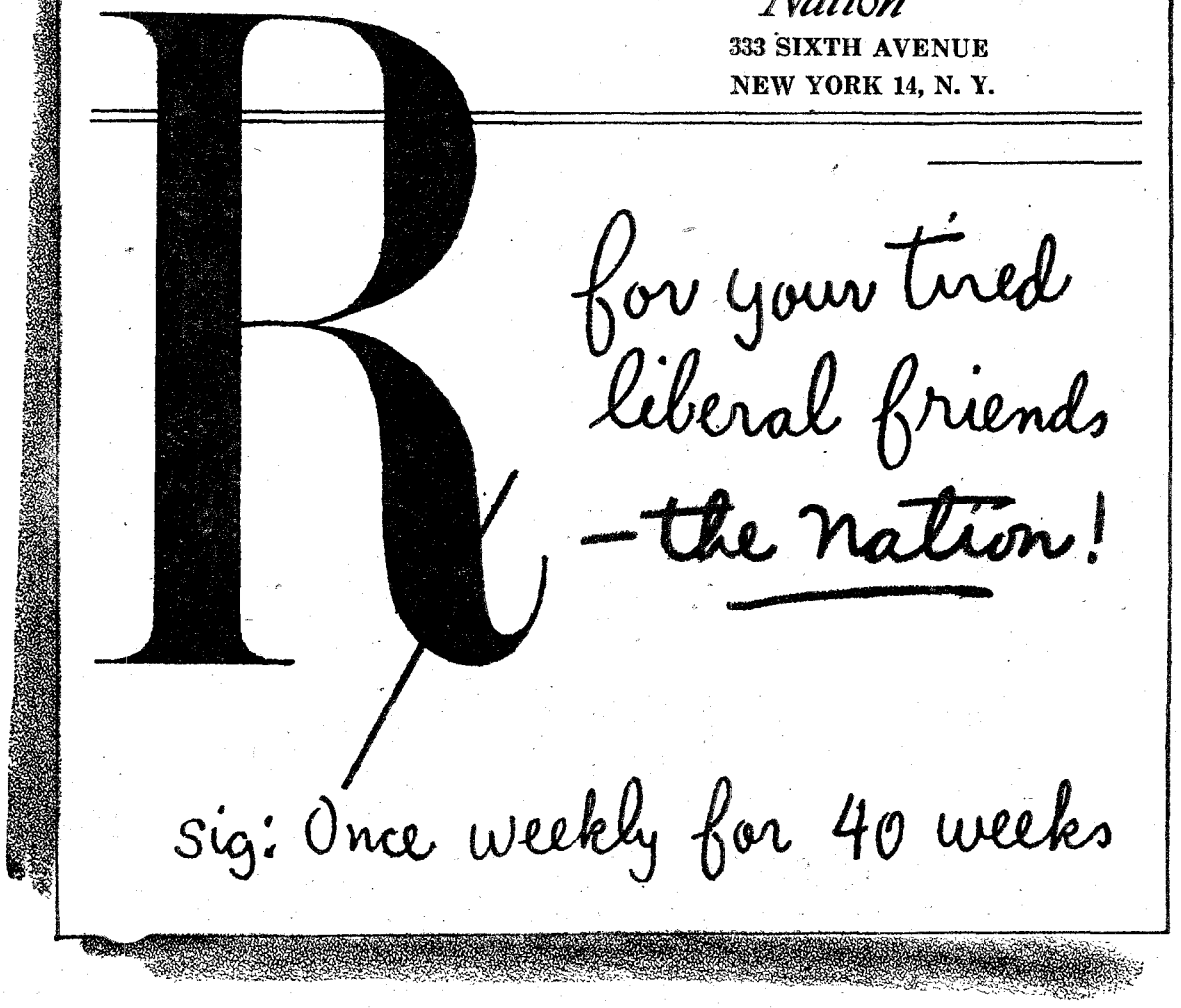

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